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with Fantan the interpreter in the presence of his sister and a female 344
cousin, he expressed strong feelings about it and his face wore an unmistakable expression of disgust. His sister and cousin began to tease him, referring to his own birth. The discussion ended laughingly—as do many of the good-natured arguments on sex differences—with the comment by Fantan's sister, "Men are bad; women are good."

The midwife who assists at a birth is given a small gift, usually a [734
moko, whose value may range from one to three rupiahs. The longer 448]
and more difficult the birth, the larger is the fee paid. Midwives who have had to manipulate the child by reaching into the mother's body expect larger fees.

There are few anecdotes of difficult births. One woman of about 345
forty, well informed in such matters, could recall only four deaths in childbirth. This is certainly no measure of maternal mortality, but it does indicate both that childbearing is relatively easy and that the culture does not stress the importance and difficulty of the occurrence. No mother died in childbirth during the eighteen months that I was in the village. In the half-dozen births I witnessed, the mothers at no time showed signs of pain beyond acute discomfort. They groaned softly and perspired freely but seemed on the whole to give birth with little difficulty. In one case where the afterbirth was long in coming, the woman massaged her abdomen, scratched her loins, and combed the knots out of her hair—devices that were all believed to assist her in labor.

After giving birth the mother stays in the house from four to six 346
days, which seems to be the time necessary for the end of the umbilical cord to dry up and drop off. Naturally, infected navels occur fairly often and are treated with poultices of mashed leaves. The dried end of the umbilical cord is saved in an areca basket. When the child is able to crawl, the cord is placed on a bundle of corn, which is presented to the maternal grandmother, or, if she is dead, to some equivalent kin. When the grandmother accepts the gift, the bit of cord is flicked off and ignored.

During the four to six days spent in the house, the mother rests and 354
devotes herself exclusively to fondling and feeding the infant. At this time the child's warm water baths are begun. Depending on the solicitude of the mother, these warm baths are repeated at least every two or three days, until the child can walk. After that it is bathed in cold water.

The mother's material needs during the period of confinement are 364
primarily the concern of her brother and secondarily the concern of 393

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Kewainan also put a bean in her ear, and she cried. I saw the bean there. I took a needle and fished it out very carefully. [He demonstrated with gestures.] The bean fell out then and blood flowed. [59x]

May 18, 1939

Last night I dreamed and when I awoke this morning I told about it. I dreamed I was guarding people who were repiling the stone cairns in their fields. I said, "These stone cairns make the gardens small. Make walls on the boundaries instead." I was just standing guard over their work to see that it was done. [This order was actually given out two days ago by the officials and was relayed to the villagers by their chiefs. Was Maleiaka giving himself governmental powers in this dream, or was he trying to impress me? This work would soon be actually done, and perhaps he thought I might not know of the order.] I watched and watched until the fields of all the three villages were finished. I awoke and the roosters were crowing. Then I went back to sleep and dreamed again.

The earthquake had come. People beat gongs and mokos and ran around. I said, "Don't beat gongs and mokos. It is as though you were calling people to give them to the earthquake. Sit quietly." But the people did not stop. Suddenly a big noise came from the mountains and all the houses fell down. I said, "You did not follow my words, and now it has come full force." If my dream is true, it means that next month a big earthquake must come. If not an earthquake, then another big wind. When the earthquake came, I saw the large houses were all silent and the small ones were all down. Then my dream broke off.

[He continued immediately with the following.] If a familiar spirit extracts an object from a sick person and the sick person doesn't pay well or doesn't do right, the stone returns to his body. Last year Lonfani [his wife] got sick and people came and took out flints, sea pebbles, and glass chips. One hundred and fifty they extracted. They would take one out and in a little while she would cry and they would take out another. This year I paid a pig for all this work. But now she is sick again and they have already taken out fifteen. Each day they take out one, and I pay three cents or five cents each time. I throw away five cents. I throw away three cents. Last year I threw away one rupiah and fifty cents. Now I already have thrown away ten cents. Maybe the seer is deceiving us. Does he take one out and put it back again? [Who is the seer?] It is Rilipeda. Formerly, when his father was a seer, his father would put a stone in his mouth first and then suck and pretend to draw it out as he sucked. But Rilipeda is different. He pulls them out with his [59x] 755 [718] 465 [776] [59x] 765

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[159] living there, I said we had better give Mailani a bride-price. Likma gave him an eight-handled Makassar moko, with which Mailani bought an Afuipe.

[768] At that time Padalani, my oldest brother, died. An evil spirit entered his stomach, which swelled and killed him. At that time I was pregnant with Fuimai. Mailani went to hunt pigs and chickens for the buriers because they had to stay in a field as though Padalani had died of leprosy. They had to bring two pigs and chickens for the Hevelaberka and the same for the Hevelakang feast. When the buriers returned they [767] were paid their "cold pig" [*paiata fe*] as extra payment for having had [448] to sleep in the cold field house. We wanted to beat gongs, but the people were afraid and so we didn't. Then I gave birth to Fuimai. Mailani hunted rats for me and played with Fuimai, saying, "Oh, this is my corn with a big voice."

About four months later Mailani died, and Likma hunted pigs for his Hevelaberka and Hevelakang feasts. So we decided to make one feast for all our dead—father and my three siblings. We gave a Rolik feast. We paid on one day a Piki moko for both Mailani's and Padalani's shrouds. On father's we paid a Kabali moko. For Lonberka we paid a Kabali moko too. Likma cried, because he had stayed so long with them that they were like his own mother and father. I cried a great deal too. After that feast I was pregnant with Kolaka and gave birth to her. I said to Likma, "Now we must plant a large field [*pinieg*] and give a feast for your dead." We pounded twelve baskets of rice. We asked the chief of Ruulkaneng for a pig. In return we gave two rupiahs in money as a preliminary bride-price. We said we had better get another pig. Riemau and Laumau gave us another pig as a dowry on me. We gave Laumau a pig as bride-price, and he gave us a big one in return as dowry. We gave the tumukun two and a half rupiahs in money as bride-price, and he gave us a Tamamia moko as dowry. The chief of Ruulkaneng brought rice and promised to bring the pig. So I pounded the rice and made sixty calabash dishes full of rice baskets; twenty of these I myself gave—among them three plates of kamo rice baskets, three of *pe* rice baskets and three of *maru* rice baskets. Included in the sixty were two of tubers and twenty-five of raw rice and corn. [The *maru* rice baskets are the usual kind; the *pe* and *kamo* are more ostentatious because they hold more.] Then on the second day the chief of Ruulkaneng came with the pig.

[Where did Likma get his money?] At that time there was much money. Two ears of corn sold for one cent in Kalabahi. Likma sold

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March 24, 1939

[137 [No dream. The usual block. The interpreter listed local activities, including selling trips to Kalabahi. At this her face lighted and she told the following.]

[137 When I was still small, about twelve years old, Maniaburka, Karmau, 463 and I went to Kalabahi with four people from Alurkowasi whom I don't remember. The policeman told us to come weed his garden. He said to come the next morning. We started early the next morning and halfway there decided we didn't have food enough, so we ran back and hid in Kapitan Jacob's garden house. The policeman came there and asked why we had run away, and Kapitan Jacob said, "They came to sell food in the market, and they didn't have enough left to eat for a work period." So the policeman said, "All right, come tomorrow with some camava. In the evening I shall cut bananas and in addition shall pay you fifteen cents. But you must come tomorrow morning." So the next morning we took some camava and went to work. I worked all morning and at noon we ate our camava. There was just a little of it. Then I worked all afternoon and was hungry. We went to the policeman's house, and he cut a bunch of bananas and gave us some papayas, and we ate. We had only seven pieces of camava at midday. We planned to sleep in the shed outside, but the policeman told us to sleep in his house. He slept in one room with his family, and the rest of us slept in the other small room. He gave us fifteen cents a day, and each day he gave us a bunch of bananas. So it went. We worked ten days, and each one of us got [illegible] and a half. Then we wanted to go home. That day all the people from the mountains had come down for market. The policeman said all right, but to help him part of that day still and go back in the afternoon. So we worked a little longer. He gave us three cents each to buy food to eat on the way home. We went to market to buy it. I bought cloth with my money. The men also bought cloth and loincloths. By that time it was late, so we slept in the market that night. Early the next morning we went back home.

[137 [I asked whether the family had not been worried at having her leave with two men and four strangers and not return for ten days.] Mother didn't want me to go, but Karmau and Maniaburka said, "Oh, she is our sister. We shall take care of her." Two of the Alurkowasi people were women. The women said, "We must watch over our younger sister." So we three women slept together and the men slept together. [Why did Karmau and Maniaburka want to take you?] I had

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seem that throughout Indonesia in the concept of man's creation from molded clay. In Atimelang this widespread motif is altered so that man is created from molded rice and corn meal; that is, man is made from food.

Also food, rather than native currencies, is generally considered adequate pay for labor. The guest-workers who help cultivate a large rice field, who assist in erecting a lineage house, who attend ceremonial funeral ceremonies, or who participate in similar ceremonial activities are all fed in return for their participation. When cooperative groups are formed for work in fields, the host of the day must furnish the midday meal.

There are other attitudes toward food which are perhaps less dramatic and instructive considered, but just as telling. If women are pounding rice or corn, any kernel which falls from the mortar is carefully picked up. Children of five or six have already observed this attitude and are as meticulous as the adults of both sexes. A single bean left in a pod during shelling will be retrieved by children as well as adults. In clearing ground even weakened food plants will be carefully preserved. The meticulous fashion in which all food articles are saved and used does not coincide with any actual scarcity.

The natives also refer frequently to the annual "hungry period." This is the end of the dry season when there is no actual want but only low of the preferred foods. For a month or two natives depend more on tubers and sweet potatoes than on corn. "At the culture phrases this as a period of food stress. In addition there were references to periods of famine as though they were an ever present threat. Careful inquiry revealed only two periods of shortage within the memories of people between forty and fifty. Both of these were due to factors which had disorganized the community so that for one reason the fields had not been as extensively planted and as carefully weeded as is customary. There is no doubt that food, especially of the preferred sort, was scarce on these two occasions, but it was procurable by purchase in nearby communities and there is no evidence that anyone died of hunger. There is, in fact, no indication that hunger is ever necessary of a proper amount of foresight and industry has been exercised. Perhaps one of the best indications that the concern over food scarcity is of psychological origin and not realistic is that there is no local hunger. No one ever expresses poverty or wealth in terms of food, although there is naturally great variation between consumption units in the number and fertility of fields owned. This is no doubt a strong presumption with wealth as status in the culture. Data on the yield of the fields indicate that crops are good and on the whole adequate not only to feed the consumption units but also to provide surpluses for contributions to feasts.

In addition there is a singular agricultural factor in Alor. This concerns the so-called "good years" and "bad years" which come in alternate seasons. Theory has it that there is no use planting rice fields or any outlying plots during "bad years" because rodents will eat up the crop before it can be harvested. In the "good years" there are supposed to be fewer rats and there is a chance to lay in surpluses for large feasts. The theory of alternating years of rat plagues has no basis in reality. Essentially the idea is a fiction that every other year you are the helpless victim of circumstances on your food supply. As one might expect, there are